Workers of the World, Unite !

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LEON TROTSKY ON PACIFIST JUDAS-GOATS

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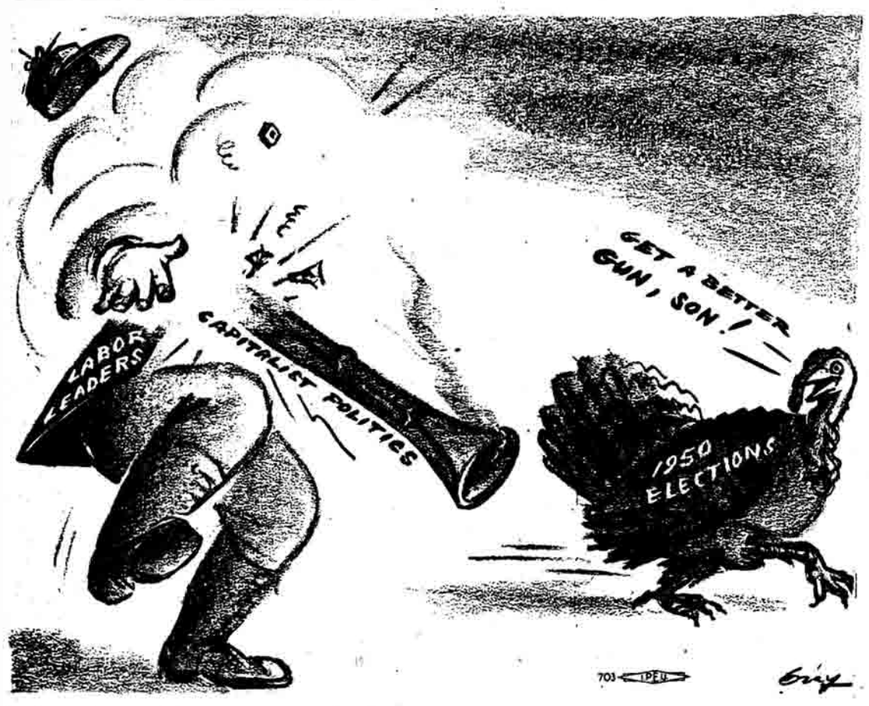

New Congress Threatens More Attacks on Labor

Myra Weiss Gets 7,498 Votes for Congress in L.A.

By Lois Saunders

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 11—Myra Tanner Weiss, as a result of a fighting, dramatic campaign for a seat in the House of Representatives, rolled up the impressive vote of 7,498 in the Nov. 7 balloting.

This vote, 9.3% of the total cast for Congress in the 19th (Los Angeles) district, can be properly appreciated only against the backdrop of the present political scene in which the middle class, fear stricken and panicky, in a nation-wide sweep turned its back on the labor movement and attached itself instead to the coat-tails of Big Business.

In a fitting climax to a hard-hitting campaign, Myra Weiss, after a four-hour struggle, succeeded in getting the microphone at the traditional City Hall election program following the closing of the polls. Undaunted by jeers and boos from the crowing Republican big-shots and hangers-on, she presented her socialist program briefly but inclusively to the radio and television audiences listening to the returns.

By thus hurling her defy at the most rabid of the reactionaries, she rounded out the task of speaking to all segments of the population. During preceding weeks, she had concentrated her efforts on appealing to trade unionists, Negroes, Mexican-Americans, Stalinists and Progressives.

SPOKE DAILY

As an example, during the course of one evening, she attempted to battle her way into 10 different union meetings. She managed to get the floor at three of them. She also spoke in Spanish at street - corner meetings in predominantly Mexican-American sections of the district, and addressed several pro-Stalinist organizations. She spoke at one or more meetings every day of the campaign.

Moreover, intensive electioneering was carried on in and near housing projects inhabited largely by Negroes and Mexican-Americans. Significantly, analysis of election returns showed that in these particular areas Comrade Weiss received between 15 and 20% of the votes, considerably higher than the over-all average of the district.

It is difficult to estimate as yet how many of the votes for Myra Weiss, who ran as an independent candidate endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyist), were cast by Stalinists. But there is good reason to believe that this campaign marked the first time

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MYRA TANNER WEISS

National SWP Vote Higher Than '48

Still incomplete returns show that the Socialist Workers Party vote this year was the highest in its history — 27,216. These were received in the following places:

New York State (for U. S. Senate): 13,746 (incomplete).

Los Angeles (for Congress): 7,498.

San Francisco (for State Assembly): 2,972.

Minneapolis (for Congress): 1,305.

Newark (for Congress): 833.

Seattle (for Congress): 327.

Wisconsin (for U. S. Senate): 275 (incomplete).

Pennsylvania (for U. S. Senate): 260 (incomplete).

No returns have yet been received from Michigan.

In 1948, when the SWP was on the ballot in more states, the total of the highest votes received in all states was 24,798, while the presidential vote was 13,613.

UNION LEADERS' ALIBIS INDICT THEIR OWN POLICY

By George Breitman

The post-election explanations of the labor and liberal leaders for the defeats of the Democratic candidates they had supported can be summarized in three points: 1. The American people were expressing "a feeling of insecurity and uncertainty" resulting from the international situation and its consequences at home. 2. The voters were confused by McCarthyism and "the unscrupulous use of the 'big lie' technique." 3. Anyhow, the results, while unfortunate, were not as "disastrous" as they might have been because it is normal for the party in power to lose ground in Congress during off-election years. (The quotations are from the statement of Jack Kroll, CIO-PAC director.)

But none of these explanations, even the ones that contain elements of truth, offer the slightest justification for the policy of supporting capitalist politicians followed by the labor leaders, ADA, Liberal Party, etc.

THE WAR QUESTION

It is true that the American people had a "feeling of insecurity and uncertainty" when they went to the polls and that, as Kroll puts it, they are "concerned over the possibility of world-wide conflict with its hardships in terms of casualties and in terms of shortages, increased taxes, and other sacrifices." They would really be blind not to feel that way, and not to want to express their resentment against conditions so strikingly different from the ones promised by the labor-supported Democrats in the 1948 election.

Yes, a great many voters were opposed to or skeptical about Truman's foreign policy. But how could they express their sentiments? The labor leaders and liberals gave them no answer; on the contrary, they insisted on the re-election of the Democratic candidates who support this administration policy, liberal and conservative alike. That is why many voters, including workers, seeing no other alternative, were driven to the Republicans, who at least criticized certain aspects of foreign policy and made a pretense of standing for something else.

By supporting an unpopular war program and the Democratic politicians associated with it, the labor leaders and liberals themselves contributed to the gains of the Republican wing of capitalist reaction.

Francis Biddle, ADA national chairman, sees an "unhealthy demonstration of the effectiveness of McCarthyism" in the election results. Arthur Schlesinger Jr., ADA "theoretician," discerns an "electoral endorsement of McCarthyism." Kroll deplores "the unscrupulous use of the 'big lie' technique."

The least they are admitting, by implication, is that neither they nor the Democrats they backed proved capable of answering or discrediting McCarthyism. How could they?

McCarthyism was made possible by the Truman administration's

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Bi-Partisan War Drive to Dictate Course

By Art Preis

The incoming Congress, like its more solidly Democratic predecessor, will be dominated by the bi-partisan war program. War preparations and militarization of the country at an ever-accelerating pace will determine the basic policies of the new 82nd Congress. That is why the American people can expect further onslaughts against their living standards and civil liberties.

This Congress will continue the reactionary drive of the previous ones. It will be "more to the right" and "worse" only in the sense that each succeeding Congress since 1938 — when the War Deal supplanted the New Deal — has marked a deepening of capitalist reaction.

This does not mean that there will be no modification in emphasis and tempo with respect to particular details of domestic and foreign policy. In the domestic sphere especially, the victory of MacCarthyism will be regarded as a go-ahead signal for more virulent witch-hunting and attacks on civil liberties. It will embolden Big Business and its political agents in both major parties to more brazen and open attacks on organized labor.

NOT MUCH DIFFERENT

But it would be wrong to conclude that things would be much different even in this respect — as the liberals and Trumanite union leaders would have us believe — if the Democrats had retained or even increased their majority, which has been reduced but not destroyed.

The big financial and industrial interests do not give too much weight to the fact that the Republicans have made gains in Congress at the expense of the Democrats. Their view is stated quite candidly by J. B. Wallach, business analyst of the **N. Y. World-Telegram:**

"Business jumped to no conclusions this week following the tallying of the nation's votes. In normal times, GOP gains would have been accorded all due significance, but business now feels that **forces stronger than parties** will shape its immediate future . . . business doesn't anticipate any let-up in defense spending and

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Truman Releases Big Handout to Butcher Franco

Contrary to his assurances of two months ago, Truman has ordered the release of the $62,500,000 handout voted by Congress for the Spanish fascist butcher, Franco. The Economic Cooperation Administration announced on Nov. 15 that "at the direction of President Truman" the "United States loan aid for Spain will get under way immediately."

It will be none too soon for the shaky Franco regime which has bankrupted Spain and brought the Spanish workers and peasants to the verge of starvation. With the U. S. dollars Truman has so opportunely released to him, Franco will be able to reinforce the brutal terror which has kept his prisons and concentration camps overflowing.

PREDICTION CONFIRMED

At the time Truman said he would impound the Franco loan, the Sept. 4 **Militant** categorically predicted that "at the moment Truman feels the coast is clear he will unfreeze the loan."

The principal obstacle was the UN resolution of 1946 which barred Hitler's Axis partner from any UN agency and urged its member nations to withdraw their major diplomatic officers from Madrid. It would have been embarrassing, in view of the accusations Washington was making about North Korea and the Soviet Union, for the U. S. to take "unilateral" action in support of Spain.

But how many UN member-nations dare to resist Washington's threat of withholding loans and ECA aid? It was no trick at all for the U. S. State Department to line up a 37 to 10 vote in the Special Political Committee of the UN General Assembly to reverse the 1946 policy. Thus, Truman now props up bloody Franco under cover of "UN sanction."

AS ASIA CRISIS MOUNTS LABOR SHOULD DEMAND: 'NO WAR WITH CHINA!'

By John G. Wright

NOV. 15 — The attention of the entire world is now fixed on the China-Korea border where American and Chinese troops are colliding. What the final outcome of the mounting international crisis will be no one can tell with certainty. But it is no exaggeration to say that the greatest uncertainty reigns in Washington, that is, among the very circles chiefly responsible for the situation precipitated by Truman's plunge into Asia via his "police action" in Korea.

"The struggle within the Administration on how to deal with this problem is acute," reports James Reston, political expert of the **N. Y. Times.** The proponents of some sort of settlement through diplomatic negotiations appear to have the upper hand for the time being. Many hopes are being pinned, especially in Europe, on a possible deal that might be achieved through "private discussions" with the nine-man Peiping delegation, headed by Gen. Wu Hsui-chuan, which at this writing is on its way to Lake Success.

Secretary of State Acheson took the occasion on Nov. 15 to make a public speech assuring the Chinese people that Washington is ready, in discussions with Peiping, to allay any possible "misunderstandings" and to "safeguard" any of China's "legitimate" interests in Korea. Just as important as these assurances, is the back-handed, and rather belated, admission that the Chinese people have every reason to be suspicious, if not alarmed, by Washington's role and aims at China's Korean border, economically so vital and militarily so vulnerable.

How would Washington react if a mighty foreign power seized Cuba, as Formosa was seized by Truman? The actual menace to China is heightened by the fact that while Cuba does not happen to be U. S. territory, Formosa is Chinese territory and, in addition, is the last refuge of Chiang, mortal foe of the Chinese people. What would be the reaction in this country, if following such an hostile act, this same foreign power moved into Mexico right up to the Rio Grande?

It now turns out that the sending of Chinese troops into Korea was by no means a sudden decision by Peiping. Washington had word of it not only from its own intelligence service but Peiping had relayed in October a message to this effect through India. But the strategists in Washington and Tokyo chose to dismiss it as a "bluff."

The mass of the American people certainly do not want war with China, which has brought so perilously close, and which threatens, as Acheson puts it, "a tragedy of the most colossal nature." The mass of the American people, too, have every reason to be suspicious of the rulers who have blindly brought matters to such a critical condition.

There was no mass protest in this country when the imperialists plunged into their reckless adventure in Korea. On the contrary, the official labor leaders backed this adventure. Now a far more fateful decision is about to be made. If the ranks of labor and the mass of the people are not to be plunged suddenly into a major war, as they were dragged into Korea, it is necessary right now to raise the cry: NO WAR WITH CHINA!

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PAC, LLPE LINE MADE TAFT VICTORY POSSIBLE

By Harry Braverman

YOUNGSTOWN, Nov. 12 — The political organizations of the trade union movement are today in a new situation created by the smashing victory of Taft in Ohio over the combined power of the CIO, AFL, railroad brotherhoods and United Mine Workers. They are shaken as never before by the enormous victory for Taft, a victory with the greatest plurality ever received by any Ohio state candidate. The fact that Taft carried just about every industrial center in the state, including the Akron, Cleveland, Youngstown, Canton, Dayton and other areas, sweeping 82 of the state's 88 counties, has given further food for thought to the unionists who backed Ferguson in the biggest political drive in labor history.

This defeat has had a sickening impact on the labor movement. A defeat is not too discouraging when it contributes to the future in an educational and moral way, when a good, principled battle has been fought. But to sacrifice principle, independence, choice of candidate, perspective, educational opportunities, everything, all in the name of victory, and then to go down in crushing defeat — that is a shattering blow to any organization.

RECONSIDERATION

The result has been a searching consideration all through PAC ranks of the principles upon which the PAC has been operating. The statement by Jack Kroll, PAC head, that he sees no reason for a change of course, is not being too widely echoed in the ranks. Workers and PAC activists are open for labor party discussion as they haven't been for a long time.

The question uppermost in the minds of all is: "Where did Taft get the power he showed on election day, power which extended right into the heart of union territory throughout the state?" The truth is that this power was given to him largely by the labor officialdom themselves. They have been the victims of the reactionary mood which they have worked so hard to create in the ranks of labor during the past three and four years.

An election held in Ohio within the year following the passage of the Taft-Hartley law would surely have resulted in the defeat of Taft, or at least in a sizable anti-Taft majority in the industrial centers. The miserable failure of the Democratic administration and its supporters in the labor officialdom to carry out their promise to repeal the Taft-Hartley law has had its effect.

More than that, the labor officialdom has been unable to campaign effectively against that law as a whole because they have made their peace with each and every provision of the law, and even incorporated much of it in "little Taft-Hartley laws" in union constitutions in the form of "anti-communist" provisions, etc. They expelled whole unions from the CIO, and sought to label as an "outlaw" and "disrupter" the one union leader who fought the law in word and deed, John L. Lewis.

The AFL and CIO "leaders," thoroughly whipped by Taft in the conflict over the law, went over to his side on most of the individual provisions, but then sought to take their "revenge" on Election Day. This didn't work so well. A mood established among the workers by three years of passive servility cannot be reversed in six weeks of breast-beating speeches.

The militants in the plants became more and more isolated. The right wing, scissorbill elements were emboldened. And the mass

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SEN. TAFT

Workers Showed Little Enthusiasm In Illinois for Anti-Labor Democrats

By Frank Roberts

CHICAGO, Nov. 8 — Scott Lucas, Senate majority leader and No. 3 Democrat nationally, was decisively defeated for re-election yesterday by Everett Dirksen, who has been closely linked with the McCormick faction of the Republican party. Lucas, endorsed by the CIO, AFL and ADA leaderships, failed to carry Cook County, traditional Democratic stronghold.

The major reasons for Lucas' defeat were the apathy and even open resentment of many workers to his reactionary record and campaign for re-election, the dissatisfaction and anxiety which were crystallized by the turn of events in Korea and the revelations by the **Chicago Sun-Times** of the self-implicating testimony of Captain Dan Gilbert, Democratic candidate for sheriff, before the Kefauver crime investigation committee.

With the support of the bankrupt labor leadership securely in his pocket, Lucas unabashedly courted the most reactionary elements in the state for support of his candidacy. He campaigned against national health insurance and defended the McCarran-Kilgore police-state law.

Prominent among his supporters were Walter Cushman, attorney for the Fair Rent Committee, a real estate group trying to smash rent control; Stuyvesant Peabody, head of the union-busting Peabody Coal Co.; and John Deere, tycoon of the agricultural implement industry. Deere was appointed to the Lucas Finance Committee in the midst of a wage strike of 4,000 UAW-CIO workers at the John Deere plants. Small wonder that many workers ignored the advice of the Germanos, Soderstroms and other union leaders telling them to back Lucas once more.

In industrial Chicago, traditionally Democratic, the total vote was lower than that of the previous off-year election in 1946. At the same time, in middle-class areas, the vote approximated and in some cases exceeded that of the 1948 presidential election. In downstate Illinois, Lucas failed to carry the heavily industrialized

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Yugoslavia Seen With Open Eyes: 3

ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES

By Ernest Germain

Industrialization and electrification of a backward country is in itself a difficult enterprise, posing many economic problems which create tensions and sharp conflicts between different layers of the population. Trying to achieve that goal amidst a hostile imperialist world whose pressure is constantly exerted toward breaking through the barrier of the state monopoly of foreign trade, of re-integrating the country into the capitalist world market, makes this an even more difficult and hazardous enterprise. Following this determined plan of the construction of a socialist economy against the combined pressure of hostile forces from within, from the imperialist powers and from the "bloc" of countries subjected to the rule of the Soviet bureaucracy creates difficulties whose magnitude a foreigner can hardly appreciate without going to Yugoslavia and studying the problems on the spot.

Where Industrial Equipment Comes From

Industrialization means intensified accumulation; a great percentage of the national product cannot be consumed by the people but must be transformed into machines, tools, buildings, roads, trucks and locomotives. In Yugoslavia it was possible to do this without imposing new hardships on the toiling masses, because a large part of the national income before the war was squandered by the native ruling classes, or went as tribute to the international capitalist class. But the conversion of this part of the national income, set aside for accumulation, into actual means of production and of transportation, cannot be achieved by the efforts of the Yugoslav economy alone. This transformation can be achieved only through an exchange of goods with foreign countries, which can deliver the necessary capital equipment which Yugoslavia does not yet produce herself.

When the first Five Year Plan was mapped out, a series of important if not key projects were based on commercial collaboration with other Eastern European countries, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary. The development of the bauxite mines and of an integrated aluminum industry was to be achieved through purchase of material from some of these countries. The Yugoslavs even paid in advance 50% of the price of the equipment they wanted to buy. After the Stalinist bureaucracy ordered its satellites to break off trade relations with Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav government

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N.Y. SWP Ran Effective Campaign

By Ben Stone

NEW YORK, Nov. 15 — **Scattered returns from upstate counties, added to the record Socialist Workers Party vote in New York City, give the SWP candidates the following totals as of this date: Joseph Hansen for U. S. Senator, 13,746; Michael Bartell for Governor, 12,808; Gladys Barker for Lt. Governor, 12,085; Arthur Preis for Attorney General, 10,491; Harry Ring for Comptroller, 10,234. Reports are still lacking from 30 counties, including some industrial areas.**

The election campaign here was one of the most effective in the history of the SWP. First must be recorded the success of SWP campaigners petitioning for signatures in every county and obtaining a total of 17,249, well above the 12,000 legally required. Readers of **The Militant** will recall how these signatures were obtained in the face of attempts at intimidation by hoodlum elements working in conjunction with public authorities throughout the state.

ON RADIO AND TV

The record of accomplishment in utilizing radio and television is also impressive. Farrell Dobbs, SWP National Chairman, and Joseph Hansen spoke over three national hook-ups from New York in July.

A series of six SWP broadcasts was given over Station WNEW. Michael Bartell spoke over the Columbia Broadcasting System on a state-wide hook-up. Gladys Barker and Harry Ring made brief post-election statements over Station WNYC.

Another accomplishment, which is becoming a regular part of SWP election campaigns, was SWP participation in the television program, Voice of the People, over the Daily News Station WPIX. On these television programs the SWP spokesmen came face to face with the representatives of the American Labor Party and each time left them in a state bordering on prostration.

The SWP candidates participated in a series of public forums and spoke before such groups as the Labor Temple, YMCA and student organizations, including the Spartacus Club at New York University. The student paper, **Square Bulletin**, ran a front-page article on Bartell's candidacy along with his picture.

STREET CORNER RALLIES

The street corner meetings held in New York City proved to be a revelation of the real sentiments of the workers in the face of all-out efforts to incite a lynch hysteria against radical parties.

A total of 30 street corner rallies were held throughout the city, most of them in the working class sections of the lower East Side, Harlem and Brownsville. The last meeting on the lower East Side was the biggest held by the SWP in the entire campaign, attracting several hundred people. The response of the audience was indicated by a record sale of **The Militant.**

This response was all the more significant because the meeting took place in the center of a former Stalinist stronghold. The most fanatical of the Stalinist remnants tried for a while to disrupt the meeting. But the majority listened attentively. When the hecklers persisted in their disruptive tactics, they were silenced by others in the audience.

Bartell, the main speaker, stood on the platform for about an hour answering questions thrown at him from all directions. After the meeting finally adjourned long past its scheduled finishing time, the scene recalled an old-fashioned political rally of the most radical days, with knots of workers gathered all over the street, discussing the issues raised at the meeting.

This meeting, like the campaign as a whole, gave one the feeling that the day is not far distant when the SWP will gain the allegiance of the radicalized workers of the East Side, as it will of the radical workers everywhere.

How the 'Fair Dealers' Campaigned in Seattle

By Daniel Roberts

SEATTLE — **The campaign in the First Congressional District in Washington can be taken as representative of the political process throughout the country. All the basic tendencies in American political life were represented and showed what they had to offer.**

The Democratic incumbent, Hugh Mitchell, was re-elected. But far overshadowing his victory was the nature of the campaign that he waged.

The liberals were all set to go into another "Fair Deal" crusade behind Mitchell, a leading member of the Americans for Democratic Action in Seattle. They were all ready to trot out his liberal record and to play it up for all it was worth. He was one of the 13 Congressmen who voted against appropriations for the House Un-American Committee — they were going to cite this and other liberal achievements besides.

HIS OWN CRUSADE

But this crusade for liberalism never materialized. Before it could get under way, Mitchell hit the would-be crusaders with his vote for the McCarran-Kilgore law and then went from bad to worse. He was interested in a different crusade: the drive against the "reds."

It was Mrs. Powell, the Republican candidate, who reminded the electorate of Mitchell's vote against the Un-American Committee. She did so to expose Mitchell as an "appeaser" of Communists. Every time the Republicans cited his past liberal votes, off went Mitchell on another red-baiting spree.

Mitchell followed up his vote for thought-control by teaming up with his running mate, Senator Magnuson, to enforce the waterfront "screening" program. Magnuson is author of the Waterfront Security Act which legalizes the purge of seamen by the Coast Guard. This act is a perfect example of how witch-hunting and union-busting are made to go hand in hand.

Wherever he spoke, in his press statements and in his ads, Mitchell presented himself as the man with the program to stop Communism in Asia and at home. There wasn't a remnant of the "Fair Deal" demagogy he used in 1948.

What Mitchell's campaign points up is that we have reached the end of the Roosevelt era in American politics. The curtain is coming down on 17 years of reforms and reform demagogy under the name of the New Deal, Fair Deal or Welfare State. The last act of this hoax on the working people was played in the election of 1948.

MINORITY PARTIES

In opposition to the drive toward a police state, the Stalinists, running under the designation of the Independent Party and the Progressive Party, could only put forward a negative protest. They offered no way out. The end of the Roosevelt era finds them clinging to the memory of the few miserable hand-outs, labelled "great social reforms," that marked the New Deal. Their vote in this district was 904.

The SWP vote was 327, the most we ever received in this area. Our campaign was not waged simply as a protest campaign. We pointed toward the coming great decisive battle between capital and labor in America, and we advocated that labor break its ties with the capitalist politicians and build a labor party — a party of the workers, Negro people, working farmers and youth.

Unlike the Stalinist candidates who spoke of "eventually" taking the path to socialism, we insisted that the working class struggle for socialism was the most burning task of the present day.

Myra Weiss Gets 7498 Votes in L.A.

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in local history where a Trotskyist-endorsed candidate was able to make sizeable inroads into the Stalinist phalanx.

Literature distributors at a large downtown pre-election rally of the Communist Party reported frequent favorable comments regarding Comrade Weiss' program, particularly her stand on civil rights, and noted a willingness to accept leaflets, and a surprising lack of hostility.

TELLING POINT

Indications are that the civil rights stand was a telling point with the Stalinists, large numbers of whom live in the 19th district. Comrade Weiss, in pledging an uncompromising fight against thought-control and the witch-hunt, pointed out repeatedly in her speeches that her sole opponent, Chet Holifield, darling of the labor leaders, had found it convenient to absent himself from Congress when the roll was called on the McCarran-Kilgore bill.

The deep impression made by the campaign can be seen by a comparison with previous vote records. When she ran for Congress two years ago in the same district against Holifield and a Republican opponent, Comrade Weiss received 1,013 votes, .9 of one percent of the total.

In the 1949 mayoralty election, Comrade Weiss obtained 1,502 votes, only half of one per cent of those cast. That vote, considered encouraging over a year ago when the Fair Deal was still at the height of its popularity and liberals were not yet cowed, was approximately one-fifth of the vote received in this week's election.

The Socialist Workers Party here is considering a post-election follow-up of the campaign. Plans are being made to appeal to the voters for continued support of the SWP program and press.

Little Enthusiasm Shown for Lucas

(Continued from Page 1)

area of Rock Island County, and was swamped in the rural areas.

Democratic boss Arvey attributed his party's defeat to the fact that the Korea war "has made people nervous and unhappy" and they "are afraid their boys are going to war, and they took it out on us."

Also contributing to the defeat was the revelation that Gilbert, Democratic candidate for Sheriff, had admitted before the Kefauver committee that he had filed an income tax return for $45,000 although his salary as a police captain was $9,000. When asked for an explanation, Gilbert replied, "I am a gambler at heart."

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Bi-Partisan War Drive Dictates Basic Policies of New Congress

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preparations. In view of the critical developments in the Far East, it (business) **doubts whether it will matter much who controls the 82nd Congress."**

So far as any modification of the war drive is concerned, Wallach points out, "business attaches little credence to reports that GOP victories mean stronger support (in Congress) for isolationism." As is well known, an important section of the Republicans, represented by people like Senator Vandenberg of Michigan, substantially support Truman's war program, including the North Atlantic military alliance and the rearming of Western Europe.

Truman, as in the past, can be expected to get almost anything relating to his war program passed. This is his chief concern

MICHAEL BARTELL

to begin with, whatever for-the-record gestures he may make with respect to social improvement legislation. If his "Fair Deal" program was repudiated under the more favorable circumstances of the 81st Congress by an overwhelming majority of his own party colleagues, there is no reason to expect him to put up any kind of real fight for it in the coming Congress.

One of the more forthright commentators of the liberal press, Sylvia F. Porter, financial columnist of the **N. Y. Post**, admits that "the pattern for your job, your savings, your profits, your taxes, your cost of living wasn't being drawn in the polling booths of the nation Nov. 7, no matter what the politicians said beforehand and no matter what the pundits have said since. . .

"As far as your bread-and-butter life is concerned, as long as remobilization remains a vital force, it doesn't matter much whether your new Congressman wears the insignia of the elephant or of the donkey. . . Republicans or Democrats, the new legislators will vote 'yes' to more and more billions for defense and rearmament — placing us as quickly as possible on a war basis akin to the early '40s."

BIPARTISAN PROGRAM

Thus, regardless of shifts in party strength and alignments, the new Congress will mean a continuation of rising prices and heavier withholding taxes; it will mean greater government controls over labor leading to a wage and job freeze, compulsory arbitration and government regulation of unions. But this is not a specifically Republican program. It is the program already written into the Defense Mobilization Act passed by the 81st Congress and signed by Truman.

The profiteers will benefit still more from the new Congress. The shift toward the Republicans in the elections will be taken as a pretext for blocking excess profits taxes. But it was the Democrats who deferred such legislation. Sylvia Porter — a Truman**ite** — reveals that "the Treasury itself doesn't warm up to the concepts of another World War II type of excess profits tax; privately, Administration officials condemn this levy as unfair, unwieldy, even inflationary. Organized labor has been the primary force behind this demand; and organized labor didn't make out so well in this election."

THE OLD CONGRESS

We hear complaints, from the union leaders in particular, that the victory of the Republicans means that the "Fair Deal is out the window surely until 1952." This implies that if the Democrats had gained a few seats instead of losing a few, Truman's 1948 election promises would have been realized in the forthcoming Congress.

The last Congress did not lack for a sufficient Democratic majority to have enacted the promised Fair Deal measures. The Democrats — except for an insignificant handful — agreed with the Republicans on such measures as retention of the Taft-Hartley Act, enactment of the McCarran-Kilgore police-state law, opposition to FEPC, federal health insurance and federal aid to education, the gutting of rent control, etc.

Many of the leading Democrats whose defeat in the elections is bewailed by the union leaders are utter reactionaries. A case in point is Senator Lucas of Illinois, Democratic majority leader, who voted for such measures as the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law and the McCarran-Kilgore Law.

Naturally, the new Congress will try to take all possible advantage of the psychological effect of the election results on the morale of labor and to press for every measure that will throw the burden of the war program on the workers and further regiment the people. But it would be a mistake to think that Congress will throw all caution to the winds.

Even the Republicans are cognizant of labor's potential power. They have learned respect for it and know that only the false policies of the union leaders, who have tried to keep labor tied to the capitalist political machines and government, have prevented the organized workers from utilizing their power effectively. The very existence of the mighty labor movement, still numerically as strong as ever, acts as a certain restraint upon the political reactionaries.

The latter will press as far as they dare without inciting the labor movement to a real show of action and strength. They will take everything they can. How much they take or if they take anything at all, however, still rests with labor. If it now reverses its course, if it takes the road of militant action, if it breaks all ties with the capitalist parties and politicians and starts to build its own independent party, it can quickly change the sweet flavor of "victory" in reaction's mouth into gall.

ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES OF YUGOSLAVIA

(Cont. from page 1)

never received the promised equipment, nor a refund of the money advanced.

The sudden rupture of trade relations between the Eastern European countries and Yugoslavia forced the Yugoslav government to revise many fundamental aspects of its Five Year Plan. It had to import industrial equipment from the West instead of from the countries under Russian control. This meant that exports to the West had to be increased and that some credits had to be obtained, in order to pay for the imported equipment. This again meant that some sectors of the economy had to be developed with an eye only on the world market, and without relation to their relative importance for the future of Yugoslav economy. A new burden was thus laid on the shoulders of the Yugoslav masses. Nevertheless, the objectives of the Five-Year Plan broadly speaking were achieved in 1949 as well as in the first half of 1950.

The problems of investment, of accumulation and of purchase of industrial plant — key problems in achieving actual electrification and industrialization of the country — only show the **direct** difficulties involved in the first phase of the construction of a socialist economy in a backward country. Indirectly, many other difficulties flow from that same need. The essential problem remains the relationship between the individual farmer, private owner of his plot and in the main engaged in production for the market, and the nationalized sector of economy, involving all industry, finance, transport and wholesale trade, as well as most of retail trade.

Dual Market System

There is still a very limited production of manufactured consumer goods in Yugoslavia. It cannot import any of them when it has to concentrate on the import of industrial equipment. These manufactured consumer goods, on the other hand, must be distributed in such a way as to prevent a growing inequality of real income; they must be divided as equally as possible among the whole population, everybody getting his normal share. Finally, it is necessary to feed the workers and city population regularly at any price, whatever the amount of manufactured goods available for the village, in exchange for the food products the village sends to the city.

This problem, fundamentally the same as Soviet Russia confronted in the beginning of its New Economic Policy, boils down to the following difficulty: how to neutralize the **uneven development** of agriculture and consumer goods industry. Agriculture is able, once restored to a "normal" level of production, to provide the whole country with sufficient food, while the production of consumers goods is still far from sufficient to satisfy the needs of the entire population.

In the Soviet Union the Stalinist bureaucracy tried to solve that problem first by compromising with the well-to-do elements in the village, making more and more concessions to them until they felt strong enough to seize the state by the throat, refusing to deliver their stored-up wheat to the city population. Then overnight the panic-stricken bureaucracy turned towards "solving" the agricultural problem by force, destroying the private farms, imposing collectivization on the peasants, and deporting millions of them to Siberia when they showed reluctance or opposition to that policy.

The Yugoslav leaders are tackling the problem in a fundamentally different way. They have instituted a dual market for all consumer goods, agricultural as well as industrial. The market of rationed goods, at state fixed prices, tends to assure every working man and woman in the country of a minimum real wage. The peasants are forced to deliver part of their production to the state at fixed prices. Thereby, the workers and city population receive their food rations at a very low price too. Once these "quotas" are delivered to the state, the individual peasant is free to sell the rest of his crops on the "free" market at any price, in accordance with the law of supply and demand. In turn, he can buy on that free market any manufactured consumer goods available, but at much higher prices than the prices for rationed consumer goods distributed to the whole population.

Naturally, the peasant is not satisfied with this system, for by selling his entire production on the free market he would make big gains. By stabilizing the prices of manufactured consumer goods on the free market and by reducing them, the state can however show the peasant that the success of industrialization also improves his own situation, provided he increases his own output and thereby the mass of products available for sale on the free market.

The Yugoslav government has a supplementary instrument to prevent the free market prices of food from rising too high: the voluntarily organized cooperative farms. These farms, formed on the basis of five different contracts, are heavily subsidized by the state with credits and agricultural implements. The products of these cooperatives are sold in the cities in cooperative shops, at prices somewhat higher than those of rationed goods but much lower than those on the free market. The more cooperatives there are, and the higher their output, the more economic pressure the state can bring to bear upon the individual peasants and the more these peasants will tend to understand that their own interests demand their joining a **zadruga**, a cooperative farm. The number of these farms has been growing slowly but steadily, from 31 in 1945; to 1,318 on January 1, 1949; to 5,000 in September 1949, to 7,000 by the middle of 1950, with more than 350,000 families and nearly 2,000,000 hectares of land (some 15% of the cultivated area of the country).

In order to become solvent, however, this system needs a constant **mechanization** of agriculture. This is the only means of making the cooperatives really **pay**; i.e., enabling them to sell cheaper because their costs of production are actually lower. Unfortunately, production of agricultural implements, although increasing steadily in Yugoslavia — steel ploughs from 7,300 in 1938 to 37,000 in 1949, etc. — is still very low. The first Yugoslav-designed and mass-manufactured tractor was shown at the Zagreb Fair of September 1950. The number of tractors available in the country, which have increased from 2,300 before the war to 7,300 at present, is still very low. So is the number of other implements. This means that many of the **social** benefits of the cooperative farms are defrayed by placing a heavy financial burden on the state budget. It also means that some cooperatives whose yield is very small represent a big waste of manpower and money.

This Year's Drought

Nevertheless, up to the beginning of 1950 this whole system of solving the economic difficulties flowing from the problems of industrialization had produced amazing results. Then, unfortunately, Yugoslavia was stricken by the worst drought since the beginning of this century. The corn crop was a complete failure. Many other crops partially failed. Food became scarcer in the country than it has ever been since 1946. Consequently, some of the peasants in poorer regions, frightened that their own families would starve, stored their whole harvest as a "reserve" for the winter, without delivering the fixed "quotas" to the state. Others, especially the well-to-do farmers, held back their harvest for purposes of speculation. The prices on the free market started to soar. The government had to react by intervening sharply against speculators and hoarders. In turn, this sharpening of economic contradictions found its expression in increased political opposition. All foreigners who traveled through the country in the summer of 1950 were able to observe that opposition in its manifold manifestations.

Neither Trotsky nor the Trotskyist movement ever defended the idea that a victorious revolution should substitute the "struggle for world revolution" for the beginning of the construction of a socialist economy in its country. This is only the caricature of Trotskyism concocted by Stalinist slanderers. As a matter of fact, Trotsky's Left Opposition in the Soviet Union was the first to draw the attention of Russian communists to the necessity of a plan to speed industrialization. They defended that idea from 1923 on against the stubborn resistance of the Stalin-Bukharin faction in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union who attacked and rejected this for four years as "super-industrialization."

Under Pressure of Hostile Forces

What Trotsky and the Trotskyist movement did stress, however, was the fact that so long as the proletarian revolution remained isolated in a hostile capitalist world, its economic and political development would take place under pressure of these hostile forces, and its fate would be decided in the long run by the class struggle on the international field. Therefore, any subordination of the struggle for the international revolution, any subordination of the interests of the international working class to the immediate tasks of economic construction within the country of the victorious revolution was not only a crime against the world proletariat, but also a direct blow against the fundamental interests of socialist construction in the workers state as well. A definitive solution of the difficulties of this construction could only be gained through a victory of the proletarian revolution in advanced industrialized countries.

The difficulties of Yugoslavia's economy today, after the blockade instituted by the Kremlin, strikingly confirms this Trotskyist analysis. Socialist construction in Yugoslavia becomes linked to the fate of world trade, and therefore subjected to the political pressure of world imperialism as well as to the automatic pressure of the world market. It is not by accident that the Yugoslav communists are so much interested in the fate of the German working class. For only the fusion of the Yugoslav revolution with a victorious revolutionary movement in Germany and in all of Western Europe would allow Yugoslavia to solve its immediate economic problems at a minimum of expense for its own toiling masses.

(Next week: Political Opposition)

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TROTSKY

"Consciousness, premeditation, and planning played a far smaller part in bourgeois revolutions than they are destined to play, and already do play in proletarian revolutions. . . The leadership remained in the hands of different sections of the bourgeoisie, and the latter had at its disposal wealth, education, and all the organizational advantages connected with them (the cities, the universities, the press, etc.). . . The bourgeoisie would bide its time to seize a favorable moment when it could profit from the movement of the lower classes and throw its whole social weight into the scale, and so seize the state power. The proletarian revolution is distinguished by the fact that the proletariat — in the person of its vanguard — acts in it not only as the main force but also as the guiding force."

— Leon Trotsky, Lessons of October, 1924.

LENIN

Wallace Still Haunts Them

Every time Henry Wallace opens his mouth these days, the Stalinists stand more discredited. Neither their studied attempts to ignore him, nor their occasional hysterical outcries against him can efface from public memory the fact that Wallace was their great model of an "anti-war" leader.

Last week, this ex-Gideon of the Stalinists let loose another call for support to American imperialism and its war program, this time urging the United States to arm "as fast as possible" against the Soviet Union.

We do not expect that the leaders of the Communist Party and the Stalinist-controlled Progressive Party or the editors of the **Daily Worker** on this occasion will offer any more convincing explanation than before on why they are not to be held accountable for Wallace, whose pro-war influence is strengthened by the fact that until recently he bore "anti-war" credentials from the Stalinists themselves.

Whenever Wallace is mentioned, the Stalinists assume the guise of outraged innocents. How were they to know they were nurturing a viper in their bosoms? Who could tell that Wallace would "betray" them, that he would turn out to be a bad egg when the shell was cracked?

But the Stalinists knew that the Wallace egg they were trying to sell to the American people was bad. They knew Wallace was a supporter of capitalism and they had his own public utterance for it, in advance of the 1948 election, that in the event American imperialism went to war he would support that war.

They misrepresented Wallace as a great "anti-war" leader solely because, at that time, he represented the point of view that war with the Soviet Union could be avoided by a deal between Washington and Moscow to divide up the world into spheres of influence. And the Stalinists are still ready to promote the political fortunes of any other capitalist politician who speaks of "harmonizing" the interests of the Kremlin and the White House and offers this as a guarantee of peace.

We Trotskyists always knew and said that the only guarantee of peace is the victory of world socialism and that anyone who supports capitalism — even "progressive" capitalism — must sooner or later wind up in the camp of the open war-mongers.

Thus, on Dec. 1, 1947, **The Militant**, in an editorial headed "Stalinists Are Always 'Betrayed,'" foretold: "It can be safely predicted that the Stalinists are in for more 'betrayals' by their current 'friends' and the 'progressive' capitalist politicians. Is the day far distant in this country when Henry Wallace will buckle under the war drive and 'betray' the Stalinists who now so loudly support him?"

The Stalinists can't say they didn't know and weren't warned.

Even Worse Than Bell Reported

Only a brief while ago Truman tried to suppress the Bell Mission report on the Philippines because it painted such an embarrassing state of affairs — embarrassing not only to the Quirino regime but especially to its backers in Washington. It now turns out that the Bell report, if anything, tended to use lighter shades wherever possible instead of presenting the whole truth.

For example, the Bell report represents the danger of currency inflation as still in the offing. According to a United Press dispatch from Manila on Nov. 10 the Philippine currency is already debased. Officially pegged to the American dollar at the rate of 2 to 1, the Philippine peso is being sold in the black market at "3.15 for $1.00" and, the UP report adds, its value "is skidding every day."

Government deficits are not a mere prospect either. "President Quirino's government has run up a deficit of 50,000,000 pesos and investigating committees have failed to halt corruption in government offices."

The grave fiscal crisis is part of a general economic crisis. "There are more than one million unemployed in a population of about 19,250,000."

The Hukbalahap movement, "previously confined to the rice bowl in the heart of Luzon, has spread to nearly all of the largest island of Panay. A regimental combat team is in action trying to round up the rebels but without much success."

"The townspeople in general are indifferent and uncooperative because they fear the government cannot provide enough protection to save them in the event of a Huk reprisal."

In plain language, the regime is not merely heading to economic and political bankruptcy, it is bankrupt already.

We see repeated in the Philippines the same conditions that brought about the downfall of Chiang Kai-shek in China and produced the eruption of the civil war in Korea against the corrupt and bankrupt Syngman Rhee government. A hundred Bell reports will not enable Washington to evade its responsibility for the situation in the Philippines. The conditions there are the direct product of American rule for decades and the 4½ year reign of its handpicked "independent" Philippine government. Asians know this, as well as the mass of the Filipinoes.

Effect of Elections on U.S. Foreign Policy

Atlantic Allies Jittery Over Prospect Of Aid Cuts, Stepped-Up Rearmament

By Frank Poole

The election results here came as an unwelcome shock to Washington's Atlantic allies, arousing considerable apprehension among them. This was widely expressed in the outspoken comments of the most influential British, French and other European newspapers, among them semi-official mouthpieces of governments now in power.

By and large this European reaction to the elections was glossed over by the press here. Harold Callender, Paris correspondent of the **N. Y. Times**, summed it up as fear on the part of "many Europeans" that American foreign policy would shift in a direction that "might make more difficult relations between Washington and Europe."

AT EXPENSE OF EUROPE

As the two main developments that would strain relations between Western Europe and the U. S., Callender lists, first, "a swing to the right politically," and secondly, a "greater emphasis upon the Far East at the expense of Europe, and of a stronger tendency to sacrifice Marshall Aid to military aid."

Even before the elections the Truman administration made it quite plain that civilian aid would be sharply cut and the European arms program must take precedence over everything else. Theodore White, Paris correspondent of the N. Y. Compass quotes "one of the top" American propaganda chiefs of the Marshall Plan as saying: "Next year our civilian aid tapers off sharply. Britain may not get any, and France alone will get more military aid than all Europe will get in civilian aid."

The European capitalists, as we have repeatedly pointed out, are fearful of repercussions among the masses that large-scale rearmaments will unavoidably entail. They want to go slow. They therefore cannot but view with apprehension the election of people like Dirksen of Illinois, one of whose campaign planks was the suspension of Marshall Plan aid.

What alarmed European circles even more were statements such as the one made by Sen. Taft after his victory in Ohio. Taft minced no words in posing the question of whether Europe is "defensible at all" and openly raised doubts about the policy of putting "all our eggs in one basket in depending so heavily on the Atlantic Pact and European military aid."

SOME ASSURANCE

The **N. Y. Times** editors, who speak for the most powerful section of the American monopolists, felt themselves called upon to reassure their jittery European colleagues. They dismiss offhand European fears that Washington has swung "toward reaction, toward isolationism, even toward militarism."

But they immediately add that "a new survey of our foreign policy" plus a "shift in emphasis" plus "a readjustment of methods" are indeed in the cards. And they call upon "our friends abroad, especially in Europe," to take heed of the election-results as "a warning . . . for proportionately equal efforts on their part."

The European "friends" will hardly find this quite as "reassuring" as the **Times** editors doubtless intended.

SCRIPPS HOWARDS LINE

Perhaps the most ominous post-election development in the field of U. S. foreign policy is the new boldness of the "fight Russia" gang, the advocates of the so-called "preventive war." Here it is not any newly-elected GOP stalwarts who have come to the fore but the arch-reactionary Scripps-Howard newspaper chain.

On Nov. 10 the N. Y. World-Telegram and Sun front paged, with screaming headlines, an article by William Philip Simms this chain's political specialist, calling for an immediate ultimatum to the Kremlin. Here is the gist of Simms' article: "China is NOT our enemy. . . Russia is . . . Russia is the instigator of the world-wide plot against America. . . Let's quit kidding ourselves. Russia has started World War III. . . That's why we should tell Russia bluntly that if she forces us into a major conflict we will carry the fight directly to her instead of slaughtering her poor dupes, the Chinese coolies."

This is obviously by the "fight Russia" gang as a trial balloon to test public reaction not only here but abroad.

MacARTHUR

MacArthur Gang of "Asia-Firsters" Strengthened in Incoming Congress

By Fred Hart

One of the big gainers in the recent elections was that section of the American ruling circles and the military who are grouped around Gen. MacArthur. This group is pressing for an immediate showdown in the Far East, and refuses to stop short of a "display of strength" sufficient to assure complete U. S. domination of Asia.

The "isolationist" Republicans who have been elected, notably Dirksen of Illinois, are without exception firm and enthusiastic supporters of the MacArthur policy for Asia.

Sen. Taft, who heads the powerful combination of Republican and Southern Bourbon "critics" of the administration's foreign policy, supports the gist of the MacArthur policy. Taft lost no time in announcing himself as "in favor of maintaining an outer perimeter of Pacific defense that included Formosa."

Since the next Congress will be more dominated than the last by the reactionary coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats, their role in deciding foreign policy strengthens the MacArthur school of colonial conquest, even though it still does not give this group the decisive say in Washington.

FOR NAKED FORCE

Heedless of the altered relation of forces in Asia since the heyday of old colonialism, contemptuous of the Asian masses and their expressed will to free themselves from the foreign yoke, the influential and powerful group of American imperialists, whose idol and spokesman is MacArthur, propose to achieve their dream of ruling Asia through the use of naked force as was done by the old colonial powers.

What gives them added strength is the fact that U. S. foreign policy is now increasingly dominated by its policy in the Far East. This is by no means an accidental or episodic development.

The intervention in Korea, the virtual seizure of Formosa, the commitment to the French to keep Indo-China under their rule — all these represent concessions to the MacArthur school.

The Far East dominates U. S. foreign policy not only because Washington finds itself militarily involved in Korea, confronts a possible involvement with China, has made commitments to the French imperialists in Indo-China, etc These and other circumstances that have arisen and may arise themselves flow from the fact that the question of who dominates Asia is a life-and-death question for the survival of American capitalism.

To rule the world, the American monopolists must rule over Asia with its vast and largely still untapped resources, with its unlimited supplies of raw materials, its colossal reservoir of cheap labor and fabuluous super-profits.

The Far East was the prize of prizes in the two world wars that have been fought thus far. One of the major factors that made possible the wartime alliance between the Kremlin and the "democracies," was Stalin's agreement to sell out China to Chiang Kai-shek, that is, permit it to remain within Washington's "sphere of influence."

ASIA OUT OF CONTROL

But events rolled over the heads of both Washington and the Kremlin. China has slipped out of Washington's control, not thanks to Stalin but despite him. The whole of Asia threatens to follow a similar course. Whether or not China and the rest of the Far East will ever fall completely into the Kremlin's orbit is far from decided. But that really matters little in Washington. The overriding fact is that China, and with her the vast Asian heartland, is slipping out of the imperialist orbit.

That is what, at bottom, has precipitated the crisis in the Far East. That is what impelled the Truman administration to make "concessions" to the MacArthur gang. The differences between Washington and MacArthur are tactical and not basic ones. It is this that renders so ominous the political strengthening on Capitol Hill of the MacArthur school of colonial conquest.

STALINISTS ARE STILL AGAINST A LABOR PARTY

By Albert Parker

The leaders of the Stalinist-dominated American Labor Party, New York section of the Progressive Party, owe their supporters an explanation for the drastic decline in their vote on Nov. 7. Instead of an explanation, ALP state chairman Vito Marcantonio offers only bluster, evasions, lies and the promise to continue the same policies that produced the party's setbacks — including opposition to the formation of an independent labor party.

In 1948 the state ticket of the ALP received 509,000 votes; this year the top ALP state vote was 209,000 votes — a drop of around 60%. In 1949 the ALP vote for mayor of New York City was 356,000 votes; this year it received 149,000 votes for the same office — also a drop of around 60%. In addition, Marcantonio, while getting the same number of votes as in 1948, lost the party's only congressional seat to a reactionary tripartisan-coalition candidate, although keeping this seat had been made the ALP's major objective in the election.

Why has the ALP vote fallen to the lowest in its 14-year history? Marcantonio, writing in the Nov. 12 Compass, does not even try to answer this. To divert attention from this omission, he goes into a harangue about the "wishful thinking" of the press for "writing off" the ALP and he denies that the low vote can be used "as the theme of this obituary." He demolishes the straw man that the ALP is dead, but he doesn't say why the ALP is sick and growing weaker.

TWO STANDARDS

On the other hand, he uses a different kind of argument when discussing the ALP's opponents. The Liberal Party's vote fell too — from 426,000 votes for Lehman in 1949 to 304,000 for him this year, a 29% decline; and from 372,000 for its 1949 Republican mayoralty candidate to 225,000 for its 1950 Tammany mayoralty candidate, a 40% decline. Many of the ADA candidates were defeated, including some of its leading members.

Of the decline in their vote, Marcantonio says: "This election definitely wiped out the Americans for Democratic Action and the Liberal Party as a political force." Look who's talking about wishful thinking! According to him, the decline in the Liberal and ADA vote means they are done for, while the even greater decline in his own party's vote is brushed aside as of trifling significance. Marcantonio evidently has a low opinion of his supporters' intelligence; otherwise, he wouldn't insult them with such stupid claims.

SAME AS BEFORE

ALP voters may dismiss all this as braggadocio, but they can't do the same with Marcantonio's aggressive statement that the same false policies of the past will be continued. He says:

"Any effort by Walter Reuther and others who support the war program to cause diversion from the main issue (war or peace) by attempting to set up a party of their own is doomed to fail. It would be exposed as a fraud in the eyes of the people the moment the attempt is made."

To fully understand what this means, it is necessary to remember that at the end of 1947 sentiment inside the unions for independent labor political action was probably greater than ever before, especially because of the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act that year with the aid of the Democratic Party. Instead of promoting the movement for an independent labor party, the Stalinists sabotaged it.

In order to get a big flashy vote for an "anti-war" candidate and thus create pressure for a new dirty deal between Truman and Stalin, the American Stalinists helped to form a third capitalist party, the Progressive Party headed by Henry Wallace. They did this in isolation from the main sections of the labor movement, and thus made it relatively easy for the union bureaucrats to squelch the sentiment for a new party based on the unions and to drag the workers along in support of the Democrats.

THEIR MAIN AIM

The Stalinist line then was to oppose the formation of an independent labor party that might, and probably would for a time, be headed by union leaders who supported the bipartisan foreign policy of cold war against the Soviet Union. Such a break with the capitalist machines would represent a great political step forward for labor, no matter who was in its leadership — but that didn't mean a thing to people whose main aim is advancement of the Kremlin's foreign diplomacy.

They not only set up a third capitalist party, but threw the ALP into it, thereby completing its conversion into an appendage of a capitalist party. All but the Stalinist-controlled unions abandoned the party in 1948, and with the desertion of Wallace, whom the Stalinists had built up as an "anti-war fighter," they began to pay the price for their opportunism and disregard of labor's real political interests with a steady decline of their vote since 1948.

And now Marcantonio comes along with an obvious reference to a national independent labor party and promises to do it all over again — that is, to continue to oppose the next necessary step in labor's political break with the two party system because in the first stage such a party might be led by elements like Reuther.

BLUSTER AND DEMAGOGY

"The ALP will emerge as the powerful political force in the next two years in the State of New York," he continues. "What I have said about the American Labor Party is equally applicable nationally to the Progressive Party. . . I now publicly propose Elmer Benson as the candidate of the Progressive Party in 1952," etc., etc.

Plenty of bluster and demagogy is what Marcantonio and the Stalinists offer — but not a policy that leads toward independent labor political action and independence from the reactionary foreign policy of Stalin. That's why the ALP is mortally sick, even though it is not dead, and that is why its power to attract workers and youth fed up with the capitalist system is growing smaller.

PAC, LLPE LINE MADE TAFT VICTORY POSSIBLE

(Continued from page 1)

of workers wavering in the center reasoned: "If everyone, including our union leaders, tells us that the left wing is bad and the right is better, we might as well go where we can get the original article. The Republicans have been telling us that for a long time."

The war in Korea, and the threat of a third world war had a similar effect, in Ohio and nationally. The labor leaders point with pride to the Democratic foreign policy. They use the label "isolationist" as an epithet which they applied to their opponents. They virtually campaigned on the slogan: "We got you into war!"

That this had the opposite to the desired effect is testimony to the continued existence of a desperate, last-ditch hope among the American people that war may yet somehow be avoided. Logically, there is no reason why this hope should be entrusted to the Republicans, whose foreign policy does not differ in any essential from that of the Democrats. But logic does not always work on election day, especially when the voters are confronted at the polls with only the alternative between two fundamentally similar parties.

Many of the active anti-Taft campaigners in Ohio are cursing the Democratic Party apparatus as the real cause of their defeat. The Democratic candidate for Governor, Lausche, all but supported Taft in the election campaign. The Democratic organization was virtually inoperative throughout the campaign, and in many instances worked for Taft. Individual Democratic leaders and normally Democratic newspapers worked for Taft and have hailed his victory over their own party with glee.

LIABILITY

Those militants who blame the Democrats have not as yet drawn the full conclusion. But sooner or later they must:

"If the Democratic Party refuses to permit us to choose a labor man to oppose Taft, but compels us to accept a machine man; if that party prevents us from advancing a genuine independent labor program; and if on top of that, the Democratic Party machine gives no support to its own campaign and even campaigns against itself, then what is the use of being in the Democratic Party? Is it not more of a liability than an asset to us? Will we not be able, by striking out on our own, to build an independent labor party, which in time will be able to beat both capitalist parties?"

The advocates of a labor party are pushing this point of view within the labor movement in Ohio today, and getting an attentive hearing from CIO and AFL militants.

Labor Leaders 'Explain' Results

(Continued from Page 1)

own policies. The White House launched the "loyalty" purge, the witch-hunt against non-citizens, the persecution and trials of the Stalinists. All this red-baiting created the atmosphere for the hysteria which the McCarthys then picked up and utilized for their own purposes against the Democrats.

To expose and defeat McCarthyism, it is necessary to expose the witch-hunt sponsored by the Democrats too. But the labor politicians and ADA leaders persistently refuse to do that. They even went so far as to dismiss the McCarran-Kilgore police-state law as an issue in the election, supporting virtually all the Democratic congressmen, like McCarran and Lucas, who had helped enact that measure.

Guilt by association is one of the chief features of McCarthyism, but the labor and liberal leaders didn't hesitate to employ this odious practice themselves. When Republicans red-baited Democrats by comparing their votes to those of Marcantonio, Walter Reuther did the same in reverse. The Democrats and their labor allies, imitating the Republicans, distributed pictures of Taft talking to Browder and of Capehart talking to UE leaders.

Furthermore, the labor leaders conducted their own witch-hunts in the unions. How could the workers in these unions be impressed or aroused by the complaints of their leaders against red-baiting by the Republicans when these leaders were using the very same weapon against militant workers?

McCarthyism is truly a potent force in this country today. But the Democrats and their labor and liberal lieutenants are responsible for that too. And there is no reason to think they will be able to combat McCarthyism any more effectively in 1952 than they did in 1950.

"NORMAL"?

Equally damaging to the labor leaders is their claim that "it could have been worse." Things can ALWAYS be worse, and a policy that has to be defended with this as the main argument can't be very good to begin with.

It is not at all preordained that the party in power must lose strength in Congress during non-presidential years. The old alibi that such a decline is "normal" was based on the theory that it happened because the workers vote in lesser numbers during off-year elections. But that was exploded this year when the turnout was exceptionally big.

Anyhow, even if you grant that the labor leaders are correct and that it is really unavoidable that the Tafts and McCarthys must win every other two years, the prospect offered by the policy of supporting capitalist politicians is still not very alluring. According to this approach, the best the workers can hope for is one step forward in presidential years, one step backward in non-presidential years. Even from their own standpoint, how can the labor leaders defend their policy as one leading to progress for labor?

Actually, it is not a one step forward, one step backward situation at all. A crushing defeat in 1946, a "victory" in 1948 that produced no gains for the workers, and new losses in 1950 — that is the four-year record of the labor leaders who reject the formation of an independent labor party on the ground that it is not "practical."

They alienated voters, both middle class and working class, who were looking for an alternative to the administration's war program. Their alliance with hacks like Ferguson and Lucas cost them plenty of working class votes too (Kroll estimates only 25% of the wives of Ohio union men were registered). They exhibited total bankruptcy in the face of McCarthyism. Things could be worse all right, but not much.

That is why labor today is on the defensive politically. And that is where it will remain until the policy of supporting capitalist politicians is replaced by the policy of building and independent labor party to challenge the parties of Big Business for political power.

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THE MILITANT

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Pacifist Judas-Goats

By Leon Trotsky

(This article, actually written over 33 years ago, might have been written last week, with only a few words changed, as a commentary on the role of Henry Wallace, previously touted by the Stalinists as an "anti-war fighter," who called in a speech on Nov. 12 at the New York Community Church for U.S. rearmament "as fast as possible." Like William Jennings Bryan during World War I, Wallace is now using his "anti-war" reputation to mobilize mass sentiment for imperialist war. Trotsky's article, abridged below, originally appeared in the Russian paper, Vpered, on June 30, 1917, shortly after his return to Russia from the United States.--Ed.)

Each epoch has not only its own technology and political form, but also its own style of hypocrisy. Time was when the nations destroyed each other for the glory of Christ's teachings and the love of one's neighbor. Now Christ is invoked only by backward nations. The advanced nations cut each other's throats under the banner of pacifism. . . a league of nations and a durable peace. . .

Pacifism springs from the same historical roots as democracy. The bourgeoisie made a gigantic effort to rationalize human relations, that is, to supplant a blind and stupid tradition by a system of critical reason. The guild restrictions on industry, class privileges, monarchic autocracy — these were the traditional heritage of the middle ages. Bourgeois democracy demanded legal equality, free competition and parliamentary methods in the conduct of public affairs.

Naturally its nationalistic criteria were applied also in the field of international relations. Here it hit upon war, which appeared to it as a method of solving questions that was a complete denial of all "reason." So bourgeois democracy began to point out to the nations — with tongues of poesy, moral philosophy and certified accounting — that they would profit more by establishment of a condition of eternal peace. Such were the logical roots of bourgeois pacifism.

From the time of its birth pacifism was afflicted, however, with a fundamental defect, one which is characteristic of bourgeois democracy; its pointed criticisms addressed themselves to the surface of political phenomena, not daring to penetrate to their economic causes.

At the hands of capitalist reality, the idea of eternal peace, on the basis of a "reasonable" agreement, has fared even more badly than the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity. For capitalism, when it rationalized industrial conditions, did not rationalize the social organization of ownership, and thus prepared instruments of destruction such as even the "barbarous" middle ages never dreamed of.

The constant embitterment of international relations and the ceaseless growth of militarism completely undermined the basis of reality under the feet of pacifism. Yet it was from these very things that pacifism took a new lease on life, a life which differed from its earlier phase as the blood and purple sunset differs from the rosy-fingered dawn. . .

Theoretically and politically, pacifism stands on the same foundation as does the theory of the harmony of social interests. The antagonisms between capitalist nations have the same economic roots as the antagonisms between the classes. And if we admit the possibility of a progressive blunting of the edge of the class struggle, it requires but a single step further to accept a gradual softening and regulating of international relations. The source of the ideology of democracy, with all its traditions and illusions, is the petty bourgeoisie. . .

(William Jennings) Bryan rashly and noisily expressed the natural aversion of the farmers and of the "small man" generally to all such things as world-policy, military service and higher taxes. Yet, at the same time that he was sending wagon-loads of petitions, as well as deputations, to his pacifist colleagues at the head of the government, Bryan did everything in his power to break the revolutionary edge of the whole movement.

"If war should come," Bryan telegraphed on the occasion of an anti-war meeting in Chicago. . . "we will all support the government of course; yet at this moment it is our sacred duty to do all in our power to preserve the nation from the horrors of war."

These few words contain the entire program of petty bourgeois pacifism: "to do everything in our power against war" means to afford the voice of popular indignation an outlet in the form of harmless demonstration, after having previously given the government a guarantee that it will meet with no serious opposition, in case of war, from the pacifist faction.

Official pacifism could have desired nothing better. It could now give satisfactory assurance of imperialistic "preparedness." After Bryan's own declaration, only one thing was necessary to dispose of his noisy opposition to war, and that was, simply, to declare war. And Bryan rolled right over into the government camp. And not only the petty bourgeoisie, but also the broad masses of the workers, said to themselves: "If our government, with such an outspoken pacifist as Wilson at its head, declares war, and if even Bryan supports the government in the war, it must be an unavoidable and righteous war. . ." It is now evident why the sanctimonious, Quaker-like pacifism of the bourgeois demagogues is in such high favor in financial and war-industry circles.

Abundant Life--For Some

By Larissa Reed

At the Armistice Day ceremonies held at Arlington Cemetery, General Marshall made a very touching speech about the almost 5,000 American boys who have been killed so far in Korea. "Each of these casualties represents a precious life, precious to the individual and precious to his family and friends." What did these boys sacrifice their precious lives for? Marshall said: "These boys fought, bled and died . . . to make life more abundant for all of us."

Did the lives they lost succeed in making "life more abundant for all of us?" One thing is sure — while American boys were fighting and dying in Korea over the past four months, an abundance of profits was made by the magnates of steel, oil, automobile, metals, textile, transport, aircraft, chemicals, radio, etc. Big corporations "piled up record-smashing profits during the third quarter of 1950" reports the Nov. 6 CIO News. While Korea was being blasted, Big Business gained a net profit of almost two billion dollars, 51% more than the same period in 1949.

The rich have every reason to gloat over that fine, "abundant" life brought to them by a war that has cost so many lives. But what about the families and friends of these casualties? Most of them belong to the working class, which gets no profits out of war, but has to bear the cost of it. Washington lost no time in rushing through a tax of almost five billion dollars that cut the pay-checks of every worker. Today people earning less than $5,000 a year are being taxed as much as they were at the height of World War II.

But this is only a beginning. Since that war ended, over 90 billion dollars have been spent in little wars and preparations for bigger ones (Greece, Turkey, Korea, the Marshall Plan, armaments, atom bombs, etc.) Now the arms budget is expected to cost anywhere from 50 to 70 billion dollars each year. To cover this in part, Congress is contemplating another ten billions in taxes.

Meanwhile the capitalists, gorged with profits such as they had never dared dream of, are fighting tooth and nail against an excess profits tax that would make them hand back a fraction of their super-profits. Heartened by the elections, a committee of 100 top executives was formed last week to conduct an "all-out fight" against such a tax. As workers might expect, this committee includes the names of some of the top corporation executives in the country, and they will have the support of all their fellow-capitalists. But workers who were talked into supporting the Democrats at the recent election might be surprised to find that Leon Henderson, big wheel in the New Deal and former head of Americans for Democratic Action, and Wilson Wyatt, former Fair Deal housing chief, are also associated with this committee. The liberals are doing their bit too — to make life "more abundant" for Big Business.

Short Subjects

By John F. Petrone

Harry Horowitz, 36-year old real estate broker in Seattle, must have been impressed by the prevailing "loyalty oath" spirit that developed in the nation's capital and has spread throughout the country. Anyhow, he decided to demand some oaths from his wife, Dorothy. When she filed for divorce last week, she submitted as evidence the following document he ordered her to sign:

"Dear Husband: I promise:

"Never to embarrass you; to pay attention to you when you speak to me; to never smoke; to refrain from playing the radio too loudly; to keep my telephone conversations under five minutes and to space my calls.

"To refrain from making 'comparisons' (we are individuals and all individuals are different); to refrain from 'harping' on a subject, once the discussion has been closed; to cook three meals a day when requested and at the hours specified.

"To continue to do the things I have done so well, and there have been no complaints; never to keep you waiting — I will always keep my appointments punctually; to do everthing I can to make our marriage a success."

Horowitz was inspired by the current "loyalty" purge, but he certainly introduced some wrinkles of his own. Truman, McCarthy, McCarran, Kilgore, Mundt and Nixon will probably read this document with envy; it may even serve as a model for their future activities. What a wonderful world for capitalist politicians it would be if the people could be made to swear never to embarrass them (by pointing out, for example, how they broke their election promises), to refrain from making comparisons (between the American and Nazi witch-hunts), and to refrain from harping on a subject (like the drive to war) once the discussion has been closed by the ruling class.

* * *

Buy bonds! Don't strike! Back up the boys in Korea! Don't grumble over the new tax increase and get ready for still another tax increase next year! Everybody has got to sacrifice because this is a time of crisis and the government needs the help of every citizen!

Variations of this theme are played over and over again in the press, on the radio and TV, in the pulpits and schools and union meetings. But we noted its total absence from the comment on the widely reported story about the ex-naval officer in Texas who got rich (or richer) from a deal in military surplus equipment.

The way the Senate Armed Services Preparedness Subcommittee tells the story, this ex-officer read that government surplus disposal authorities were offering to bidders a lot of "aircraft computors." Thinking they were small cardboard computors that could be used for calculating land areas, he bid $6.89 for 168 of them. When his bid was accepted and he went to get them, however, he saw that they were brand-new electric fire control instruments, known as parallax computors, which had cost over $7,200 each. Saying nothing, he had them shipped to his farm at a cost of $4,000, called in Air Force procurement authorities and sold them back for $63,000.

The interesting thing is that the Senate subcommittee's account of his dealings, in the words of one reporter, "was filled with admiration and even a little envy." So were all the stories we read about the case in the capitalist press. The moral — and the morality of capitalism — seems to be: "Patriotism" is one thing, "free enterprise" (even when it's the government you're sticking) is another.

* * *

In response to inquiries about further installments in "Confessions of an FBI Agent," the "sensational, behind the scenes, exclusive series" printed in The Militant several weeks ago, Albert Parker reports that there will be no further installments. The reason is that all FBI agents were put on a six-day week beginning Oct. 28; an FBI official told the press the agents had to give up their five-day week because of "an increased volume of work." Parker says his FBI informant used to see him every Saturday, but that's out now. He also says his informant can't see him on Sundays because that's the day he devotes to drumming up publicity to get J. Edgar Hoover selected as the Man of the Year on the ground that he is the best representative of the spirit of 1950.

Only CIO Congressman Is Defeated in Toledo

By Milton Alvin

TOLEDO, Nov. 10 — **Election results in this area, as elsewhere in Ohio, proved a big disappointment to the labor leaders and showed the bankruptcy of their alliance with the Democrats. Not only did Taft, the main target of the CIO and AFL, carry a majority of the votes here, but Thomas Burke, the only CIO member in Congress, lost his seat in the House.**

Burke's defeat will be attributed to the entry of an "independent" candidate, a leading local Democrat, who was sponsored by millionaire Paul Block Jr., owner of Toledo's two daily newspapers. The "independent," Frazier Reams, is Block's attorney and plays a leading role in the intermittent fight between local capitalists and the UAW. Reams was not expected to win, but to draw enough Democratic votes to defeat Burke. Much to everyone's surprise, including his own, he turned up the victor in the three-cornered race.

The local labor movement concentrated on two objectives in the compaign: to re-elect Burke and to roll up a big vote for Taft's opponent, Ferguson. The unions' political arm, the United Labor Committee, conducted a fairly active campaign, distributing many thousands of pieces of literature, going on the air frequently and using many newspaper ads. But the official Democratic Party machine contented itself with only token support of its own candidates. There is a justified suspicion among active union people that the party bosses knifed them in the back.

ROLE OF DEMOCRATS

The results of the election show clearly enough that the advantages supposed to accrue to labor through operating in the Democratic Party are a myth. Actually, the anti-union elements in the Democratic Party vote against its "labor" candidates whenever it appears that the influence of the unions is getting strong within the party's ranks. In this locality, they went so far as to nominate an "independent" because Burke's defeat could not easily be brought about any other way. As one unionist put it, "We coudn't have done any worse with our own party, our own candidates and our own program."

Reams, a conservative in his views, keyed his campaign propaganda to Taft's. Where Taft made his state-wide campaign mainly around the claim that the labor leaders had taken over the Democratic Party, Reams ran up and down the city hollering about "Gosserism." Richard Gosser is International Vice-President of the UAW and the leading union figure in Toledo. Burke was pictured as nothing but a stooge for Gosser in Congress, and the voters were threatened with a "Gosser labor dictatorship" if he was re-elected.

In reality Burke did not always vote according to CIO standards, a fact carefully covered up by both his supporters and opponents. For example, he voted for the McCarran-Kilgore police-state bill. Later he reversed himself and voted to uphold Truman's veto. But these facts did not come out in the campaign.

MAIN WEAKNESS

The fundamental weakness in Burke's campaign flowed from his ties with the Democratic Party. Instead of advocating a fighting program based upon the real needs of the workers from whose ranks he came, Burke failed to distinguish himself in any way from ordinary Democratic capitalist politicians.

Naturally, the workers were not inspired to turn out in huge numbers for a repeat performance of the 81st Congress with its Democratic majority and its long list of broken promises. Burke's vote of 42,685, according to the Toledo Union Journal, official CIO paper, is "very little more than HALF of the TOTAL dues paying union membership in Lucas County."

The lesson for labor is clear: Get out of the Democratic Party and organize a labor party with a militant program and with working men and women for candidates.

M'CARTHYITES WIN OUT IN WISCONSIN CONTESTS

MILWAUKEE, Nov. 13 — The Wisconsin witch-hunt team of Republican Senators McCarthy and Wiley will rage on in Washington because Wisconsin voters, disgusted with the Democratic Party's broken promises and disturbed by the Korean war developments, were offered no other choice by the union leaders, ADA liberals and ex-Socialist politicians.

The latter groups, instead of running an independent labor candidate free of Democratic Party ties, combined in support of the Democratic senatorial candidate, Attorney General Thomas Fairchild, whose chief claim to fame is the long list of utilities strikes he has broken through his enforcement of Wisconsin's Utility Anti-Strike Law.

Despite his impressive backing from leaders of all sections of the union movement and the indirect aid he received from the Socialist and Progressive parties, Fairchild lost by a margin of 70,000 votes to Wiley, the Chippewa Falls banker who campaigned on a program of straight McCarthyism.

STILL STRIKEBREAKING

Just today, the defeated Fairchild confirmed for many workers the correctness of their decision not to vote for him. He has announced that he will seek restraining injunctions against striking telephone workers.

Also buried in the debacle of the Democratic Party was Congressman Andrew Biemiller, the former Socialist who leap-frogged to the now-defunct La Follette Progressive Party and finally into the Democratic "Fair Deal" camp. Biemiller, who was the leading ADA'er in the House, lost out by 5,000 votes to Charles Kersten, Allis-Chalmers Co. stooge who launched the Congressional "anti-Communist" investigation against the leaders of UAW Local 248 in the bitter 1947 strike.

Biemiller had won the praise of such variegated elements as the Democratic Uihlein family, half-owners of Milwaukee in banking, industrial, real-estate and malt-beverage enterprises, including Schlitz brewery; FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover; Philip Murray, president of the CIO; and Mayor Frank P. Zeidler, a card-holding member of the Socialist Party.

The latter party, as well as the Stalinist-controlled Progressive Party, extended Biemiller the courtesy of refraining from running candidates against him in the once-Socialist 5th District. He lost out anyway, despite a free-spending all-out campaign on his behalf by the union leaders.

SWP VOTE

In the Wisconsin election campaign, the only genuinely independent working-class program was presented by the Socialist Workers Party which ran James E. Boulton, Milwaukee organizer, for U. S. Senate. The SWP campaign had to be conducted on a modest budget, but it spread the socialist message vigorously to all the workers it could reach. Incomplete returns give Boulton 205 Votes in Milwaukee, 275 in the state.

The Socialist Party of Mayor Zeidler received only a third of its 1948 vote and the Progressive Party remnant of the former Wallaceite movement received insufficient votes to maintain its place on the ballot.

Fair Showing by SWP in Newark

NEWARK, Nov. 14 — William E. Bohannan, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in the 11th District was today credited with 833 votes in last week's election. This represents a shade under 1% of the vote, or about half the percentage he got in 1948.

In terms of publicity and literature sold, it was one of the best SWP campaigns in this district. A possible explanation of the decline in the SWP vote is that many workers who voted Democratic or Progressive for President and SWP for Congress in 1948 did not vote at all this year when the total vote was 20,000 smaller.

Big Opposition To 'Subversive' Ban in Michigan

By Patricia Stall

DETROIT, Nov. 12 — Amendment No. 3 to the Michigan constitution was passed last Tuesday by a majority of 3 to 2. This witch-hunt amendment defines "subversion" in peacetime, makes it a crime "punishable by any penalty provided by law," and lifts all guarantees of civil liberties "as a defense in any trial for subversion."

According to the latest available figures, the total number of yes votes was 628,936 and no, 403,255. This large opposition vote was cast despite the vigorous support given the proposal by all of Michigan's leading newspapers. Their relatively small majority dismayed the red-baiters and war-pluggers who confidently expected virtually all the voters to fall obediently into line.

By casting such a large opposition vote the people of this state voiced a sharp protest against thought-control and the police-staters and struck a blow in the fight to preserve civil liberties. The facts and figures connected with the vote on Amendment 3 carry encouraging news to the opponents of the witch-hunt. Here is what they tell: Of the four proposals on the ballot, this one received less votes than any other; it was carried by the smallest majority of all.

This amendment was instigated by the ruling powers in Michigan. The same political gang who conspired and schemed to keep the issues of rent control and price ceilings from being acted upon by referendum vote originated and pushed this amendment. Their motives are clear: To stifle any critical voice. To stop all resistance to the lowering of living standards, Jim Crow, war, union-busting, etc. — in a word, to erect a totalitarian police regime in Michigan.

The Socialist Workers Party was not alone in warning against these dangers. Liberal groups such as the American for Democratic Action urged a "No" vote. Dr. Henry Hitt Crane and attorney Walter Nelson, acting on behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union, made a courageous effort to obtain an injunction to prevent the proposal from appearing on the ballot.

Failing to obtain this, Walter Nelson made a stirring radio appeal calling for a "No" vote. The American Civil Liberties Union foresaw that the new amendment would "be used as an excuse to invade the civil rights of all citizens."

"It was objectionable because it may be construed to deprive a citizen of the basic and constitutional right of defense on a criminal charge," was the way the conservative Detroit Bar Association characterized the proposal and added that it was "invading the basic rights guaranteed all citizens under the constitution." The Detroit Citizens League took a liberal capitalist point of view, its comment being that the amendment was "not only unnecessary but treads on dangerous grounds."

The CIO, the force that could have wielded the greatest influence, remained criminally silent on this question. Had the CIO leaders urged a "No" vote in any of the numerous pro-Democrat leaflets they issued, the proposal would have been defeated. The labor officials respected a 'sneaking "gentlemen's agreement" with the Democratic Party to take no stand for or against the amendment. This was done so as not to hurt the feelings of millionaire Governor Williams and his party who are in favor of all "loyalty" oaths and witch-hunts although they put on the demagogic masks of "true democrats."

Packard Local 190 of the UAW, however, put out a leaflet which proclaimed in inch-high letters that, "There'd be no CIO if proposal #3 were law in 1936-37." This is enlightening reading especially for those who say, "But this only attacks Communists!"

This amendment is only part of a campaign to fool the American people into voting away their civil liberties. Although this proposal was passed, the lack of response at the polls and the large opposition vote prove that the population is not as blind to its enemies as these enemies would wish.

RED BAITING MAIN PLATFORM OF BOTH PARTIES IN PENN.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 13 — During the election campaign, working class voters showed signs of apathy to the appeals of both major party candidates, who sought to arouse interest by mutual accusations of "Communist coddling" and corrupt machine politics.

An all-time low was recorded by the CIO-PAC and AFL both in fund raising and in arousing support for the Democratic candidates, Francis J. Myers for U. S. Senator, and Richardson Dilworth for Governor. It was not easy to sell as "friends of labor" Myers, who supported the McCarran bill, and Dilworth, whose law firm had secured anti-labor injunctions and fought against rent control. Neither candidate displayed much concern for labor measures and sought to avoid appearing in public as labor-backed candidates.

Michael A. Musmanno, a Pittsburgh judge and one-time liberal, the Democratic candidate for Lt. Governor reportedly chosen at CIO President Philip Murray's insistence, sought to erase memory of his own past connection with "red tainted" causes (like the Sacco-Vanzetti case) by launching a one man "red hunt." He initiated criminal syndicalism prosecution against Pittsburgh Stalinists, ruled that Communists cannot serve on juries, and generally attacked the alleged laxness of the Republican state administration in combating "communism."

The bi-partisan attempts to stifle liberal and socialist expression in Pennsylvania were undoubtedly a contributing factor in the decline of radical votes. However, the anti-red drive failed to create the wished-for hysteria among the working people.

The SWP candidates spoke, during the campaign, at more than twenty street meetings in all sections of Philadelphia without any incidents involving the listeners. In the several cases where the police or hoodlums sought to disrupt meetings, support of our right to speak was quite evident among the audiences.

Incomplete election returns from this city alone indicate that the Socialist Workers Party (Pa. ballot designation — Militant Workers Party) polled 260 votes for its Senatorial candidate, Clyde Turner, and 255 for Herbert Lewin for Governor. Like the vote of all the other minority parties in the Philadelphia area, this was considerably smaller than the 1948 vote.

Calif. Middle Class Shifts to GOP

By Lois Saunders

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 11 — **Republicans are loudly acclaiming the defeat of James Roosevelt for Governor and Helen Gahagan Douglas for Senator as complete vindication of their attacks against the Truman administration and Democratic policies. They are also insisting that the elections demonstrate conclusively that labor leaders can no longer "deliver the vote," and that workers in reality do not oppose such flagrantly anti-labor measures as the McCarran-Kilgore and Taft-Hartley laws. They are drooling over anticipated victories in 1952 and booming the colorless victor, machine politician Gov. Earl Warren, as irresistible presidential timber.**

Labor leaders are significantly silent. They haven't as yet thought up any explanations to justify their policy of tying the workers to the tail of the Democratic administration.

Analysis of the elections in the daily press — largely Republican — shows a lack of understanding of the play of social forces in society. There is no basis for their assertion that workers disregarded the appeals of their union leaders.

Reports from the large local factories state that the overwhelming bulk of the workers there voted Democratic. Only the top layers, a small proportion, switched to the Republicans.

Warren won the election hands down, with better than a million vote lead over Roosevelt. Mrs. Douglas was badly beaten by the red-baiting, flag-waving Richard Nixon.

THE DOUGLAS VOTE

Mrs. Douglas ran on her record in the House as a liberal, Fair Deal Democrat. She had voted against the McCarran-Kilgore bill, to uphold the President's veto, and against appropriations for the House Un-American Committee. Republicans, in their all-out campaign against her, utilized every possible angle of the witch-hunt, anti-Communist hysteria. Despite this reverberating barrage, she polled approximately a million and a half votes.

Union labor estimates that there are 2,000,000 organized workers in the state. There is every reason to believe that it was primarily from this group and from the minorities that Roosevelt and Mrs. Douglas received support.

Despite the prattle of the Republicans and the head-scratching of the labor leaders, the switch in votes appears to have occurred not among the workers, but among the middle class. California with its 10,500,000 population is predominantly middle class — farmers, shop-keepers, retired mid-Westerners, small landlords. These groups constitute the pendulum vote in the state, the swinging vote that veers now to the left, now to the right, that has no fixed course, no clear policy.

If the labor leaders were Marxists, they would understand this phenomenon. It is not confined to California, or even to the U. S. It is world-wide.

The petty bourgeoisie invariably swings to the reactionaries when labor is unable to supply leadership. In a world jittery with fear of the atom bomb and a third world war, unnerved by red-baiting hysteria, the most brutal, ruthless and outspoken representatives of the bourgeoisie present an apearance of strength. They give the impression of offering a program, a way out of the chaos. The impression is a myth, but it is nonetheless sufficient to serve as a polar magnet for the vacillating, frightened shopkeeper in the absence of any counter attractive force.

In this campaign, the official labor movement had no program. It stumped the state for the Democrats, did the bidding of the Democrats, carried out in its unions the directives of the Democrats in the State Department.

In these circumstances the swing of the petty bourgeoisie to the Republicans is not surprising. They were apprehensive of the Truman mediocrity, and they continued to be apprehensive even when the labor leaders told them to follow the Democrats anyway.

The lesson is clear. Labor can win — and can attract large sections of the pendulum vote; but only if it has a real program of its own, is prepared to contest for leadership, is willing to set up its own separate political party.

Such action would open up a healthy perspective for the workers. It would begin to stem the rapid swing toward the Republicans, thought control, the police state and entrenched reaction.

From India

Rise and Fall of the Comintern

by K. Tilak. 157 pps. $1.50 — a pioneer of the Indian Trotskyist Party traces the Stalinist betrayals of the working class from 1923 to the end of the last war.

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